BOOKS • THEATER • RECORDS

THE Nation

February 21, 1953
20¢

New York's Water Front Jungle

by George Horne

Where Are We Going? *Freda Kirchwey*

South African Riots *Harry S. Warner*

A Review of "The Second Sex" *Patrick Mullahy*

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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Around the U.S.A.

Nearly Everybody Swears in Harrison

Harrison, New York

THIS Westchester County suburb of New York achieved fame of a sort recently when its school board became the first in the state to require a loyalty oath from the officers of all organizations seeking to use the school facilities. The oath is also required of speakers who appear before such organizations. Thus the officers of the local Parent-Teachers Association, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, or League of Women Voters must take the oath if they want to meet in a Harrison school building.

The pattern set here has already been copied in several nearby communities and eventually could spread to all the three thousand autonomous school districts in the state.

The local board's action, taken over the protest of many residents, brought into the open the bitterness which has been developing covertly between the self-styled "old-timers" who work as well as live in the county and the "johnny-come-lately" commuters. The commuters opposed the oath and had a bad time of it. Their moderately phrased arguments were frequently equated with communism and were countered more than once by ill-concealed appeals to race prejudice. Perhaps half of Harrison's commuters are Jewish.

Without doubt the majority of the town supports the board and the loyalty oath. After the turn of the century the electrification and four-tracking of the New Haven Railroad, which serves the community, and the building of nearby Kensico dam, brought a great many workmen to Harrison, many of them newly arrived Italian immigrants who settled there permanently. They raised large families and as the years passed took over the political power which had formerly been the unquestioned prerogative of the descendants of the original settlers—Harrison was founded in 1696.

• By the mid-thirties the white-collar exodus from New York began to lap over into Harrison as into other Westchester towns. One of the motivations in this shift from city to suburb has undoubtedly been the New Yorker's perennial search for better primary schools. The Harrison system, however, was generally oriented toward high school as the terminal educational experience, with emphasis on technical and business training, while most of the commuting families wanted their children to go on to college. Inevitably demands for changes in the curriculum were voiced.

In the last seven years the town's school population has nearly doubled. When the commuters tried to elect sympathetic members to the school board, the Italian American community made a vigorous counter-effort to control it and "keep the schools from becoming a hotbed of progressive education." Since Italian and Irish Americans constitute a majority in the school district, they succeeded in getting a four-to-one Catholic majority on the board.

Their domination was not docilely accepted by the commuters. The board meetings, which in the past had been humdrum affairs, became the scene of vigorous debates on educational policies. For a while the board attempted to avoid discussion by retiring into executive session, but the state education law was cited to prevent this. Fighting stubbornly, it rejected the voters' offer to form an Advisory Committee through which technically trained residents could assist the trustees in planning enlargement of school facilities; this, said the board, smacked of subversive usurpation of the functions of elected officials. By now the board was characterizing all opposition as "pinko." It seems to have concluded that if it could discredit the most vociferous members of the Parent-Teachers Association its troubles would be over.

Last October, soon after the United States Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of New York's Feinberg act requiring all teachers to sign a loyalty oath, the board issued the indicated questionnaires to the teaching staff and at the same time announced that officers, members, and guest speakers of organizations using school buildings must sign a similar oath. An early deadline was set for compliance. Later, when it became evident that the board might become a laughingstock if each little cub scout were asked to sign the oath, the date was postponed until after the next scheduled board meeting so that the ruling could be amended to require the oath only from officers and speakers.

• A Citizens' Committee consisting of an Episcopal minister, two professors, a partner in a large accounting firm, a well-known author and critic, a former dean of the Harvard Law School, and several other respected residents circulated an impressive letter of protest throughout the district. This, together with extensive publicity in the local and metropolitan press, produced the largest turnout ever to appear at a board meeting, some four hundred persons. But the cards were stacked. Secure in the knowledge that he had majority community support, Joseph Vassallo, president of the board, opened the meeting by putting the question on the amended oath, received a unanimous vote of approval, and then consented to hear the other side.

On November 14 all the officers of the P.T.A. took the oath. Afterward two of them resigned in protest. Others who had been active against the oath decided they could continue the fight better in office than on the outside. Recently action was instituted before the state Commissioner of Education to compel the school board to revoke the oath requirement.

Already the town is showing signs of the suspicion which the Citizens' Committee predicted would divide neighbor from neighbor. "What have they got to hide?" people ask about those who oppose the oath. Some of the protesters, ashamed and angry at the turn of events, are talking about selling their homes and moving to another town.

DAVID CLINTON

[*The author is a Harrison commuter.*]

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Anglo-Egyptian Accord

The Anglo-Egyptian agreement on the Sudan, signed in Cairo on February 12, is undoubtedly an Egyptian victory, a victory made possible by its unequivocal retreat from previous demands for Egyptian sovereignty over the Sudan. So long as Egypt insisted on "unification of the Nile Valley," Britain rightly refused to budge from the position that it would not resign its trusteeship until the Sudanese were able to become self-governing and decide their own future.

Toward the end of last year General Naguib outflanked Whitehall by scrapping the policies of his Wafdist predecessors and promising the Sudan not merely self-government but complete independence within three years. For the British view this was moving altogether too fast, but the enthusiasm aroused in the Sudan by the Egyptian move left no alternative to acquiescence. And in the subsequent negotiations over the details of the transfer of authority the British relinquished most of the "safeguards" they had originally asked for. In particular they modified their demand for special powers for the governor general to enable him to protect the interests of the non-Moslem, primitive tribes of the southern Sudan and accepted instead the endowment of this official with some vague general powers.

No doubt this compromise was inevitable, but many anti-imperialists would feel happier about the new agreement if it provided guaranties against exploitation of the southern Sudanese. The good intentions of the northern Moslem majority in this matter must be taken on faith. So, indeed, must the promises of the Egyptian government to the Sudan as a whole, and it is not very auspicious that General Naguib's agreement to self-government for the Sudan should have coincided with his assumption of dictatorial powers in his own country.

Taft and "Christian Repentance"

In its recent annual report the House Committee on Un-American Activities for the first time agrees with those of its critics who have long contended that the "non-Communist" affidavit of the Taft-Hartley act is more of a help than a hindrance to the Communists. Not only is the provision difficult to enforce but, in the view of the committee, it has provided certain unions with a ready-made answer to the charge of Communist domination. The committee recommends that the non-Communist oath be dropped, and even Senator Taft agrees, since he feels that to extend the oath to cover the past—the form now reads "I am not a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with such party"—would rule out "the possibility of Christian repentance."

But this does not mean, of course, that the labor-baiters in Congress have retreated or recanted; on the contrary, they are now concocting a still more deadly potion for the labor movement. Its major ingredients are an amendment to the Taft-Hartley act authorizing an employer to discharge Communist employees despite union-shop agreements, bigger and better Congressional investigations of "reds" in unions, establishment of a new agency charged with determining which unions are free of the Communist taint, "a great many more prosecutions," to quote Senator Taft, by the new Attorney General for past violations of the non-Communist clause, legislation making it unlawful for a member of the Communist Party to hold office or employment in any labor organization, nullification of contracts held by "Communist-dominated" unions, and special security safeguards governing unions in key defense industries.

All of which would seem to mean that the Republicans do not intend to introduce much "anti-labor" legislation as such; they will simply step up the tempo of the campaign to "ferret out the reds." The labor movement this year is the No. 2 target on the list of all the chief investigators, the first being American education.

Soviet-Israeli Break

The terrorists responsible for the bombing of the Soviet legation in Tel Aviv gave the Russians another opportunity to ingratiate themselves with the Arab world. By promptly severing diplomatic relations with Israel, the Kremlin has done much to wipe from Arab memory the fact that the Soviet Union in 1947 supported the partition of Palestine and in 1948 rushed to become the third nation in the world to recognize the new-born Jewish state.

Experts are already weighing the significance of the

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move in terms of the complex Middle East political situation. Whatever the answer, it surely cannot be a pleasant one for the West. Any encouragement of Arab hostility towards Israel can only increase present unrest in the area and further divide the Arab states from the West. Moscow's step may ultimately spell the defeat of Western efforts to establish a defense pact in the Middle East.

But in the meantime the Soviet action must not deter the Israeli government from finding and punishing those responsible for the bombing. This would be Israel's best answer to Russia's slanderous charge of official complicity in the outrage. It is also the only possible answer to the moral question involved.

Appeal to Eisenhower

Russia's newest act, coupled with its recently launched campaign of anti-Semitism, gives sharp urgency to the four-point program which fifty-one distinguished Americans have suggested to President Eisenhower as a means of averting a possible disaster to the Jews. They have called upon the President:

1. To issue a solemn public condemnation and warning that this attack against the Jewish people is an incitement to massacre.
2. As a deterrent, to declare that the help of the United States in terms of funds, Point Four aid, and other forms of assistance will be withhheld from any country which engages in such attacks.
3. To make clear to the Arab world the importance of reaching a formal settlement of the Palestine war as an end in itself and as a prerequisite to productive relations with the United States.
4. To place on the agenda of the United Nations a proposal for the establishment of a "watchdog" committee to prevent anti-Semitic violence anywhere as contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and the principle of peaceful association between countries.

Joining in this request are presidents of colleges, religious leaders, business men, educators, and writers, including the president of The Nation Associates.

That American public opinion is fearful of a new disaster is indicated not only by these proposals but by the disapproval of the Russian campaign expressed in many quarters, notably by the National Council of Churches of Christ and by the forty Catholic leaders whose statement was published in the *Commonweal*.

With the General Assembly resuming its session on February 24, an opportunity exists for the initiation of deterrent action of an impressive nature. It is hoped that President Eisenhower will direct Ambassador Lodge to propose such action in accordance "with the highest purposes of international morality and international peace," as the group of fifty-one has phrased it.

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Mr. Wilson's Noble Sacrifice

We don't suppose people worried too much about how the Charles E. Wilsons would get along after Mr. Wilson sold his General Motors stock. Just the same there was a good deal of comment on that 26 per cent capital-gains tax and a feeling around that he'd made a pretty handsome sacrifice for the sake of serving his country as Secretary of Defense. Happily nobody need give the matter another thought. The facts about Mr. Wilson's stock sale and earnings have been put together by William J. Casey and J. K. Lasser, the tax experts, and it seems that next year the Secretary's after-tax income will be $22,850 higher than his top income as president of General Motors.

But that is just part of the good news. Mr. Wilson is not only going to be better off than he was before he got his government job. He is going to be better off—and by a much larger number of dollars—than if he had taken the Defense job and been allowed to keep his General Motors stock. Job plus income from stock and other General Motors perquisites would have netted Mr. Wilson a take-home income of $102,500. By selling the General Motors stock and investing the proceeds thriftily in 2½ per cent tax-exempt municipal bonds, Mr. Wilson's income after taxes as Secretary of Defense will be $145,600. The whole story is complex and fascinating, but it all adds up to the reassuring fact that virtue is not to be its own reward in the case of Charles E. Wilson: the reward is virtue plus either $22,850 or $43,100, depending on which way you figure it.

Business Is Just That Practical

One of our American weaknesses is that even those who regret the thought control now spreading rapidly through American life are little given to speculating about its sources. This fact is strikingly revealed in the report of the twelve-man commission set up three years ago by the Association of American Universities, under grants from the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation, to seek a cure for the chronic financial predicament of American colleges and universities.

The commission recommends that educational institutions turn for assistance to business and private groups and not to the federal government. This accords with the popular American view that business gives without strings, whereas controls tend to go along with government donations. To make such distinction is unrealistic.

The fact is, of course, as *Business Week* has pointed out, "business men and college professors probably never will see eye to eye." The dire need of the colleges is for funds to finance research in the social sciences and humanities. Grants to colleges for research for the current school year will amount to approximately $350,000,000, of which 90 per cent is earmarked for work in the physical and biological sciences. With customary candor *Business Week* explains why: with the physical sciences "the benefit [to business] is usually obvious. . . . [But] except in a few cases, that's not true of the social sciences. Instead of bewailing their lot, the colleges . . . might do better by laying out a definite program of what they think they can do for industry in the field of social science. . . . But such research won't become so widespread as, or approach the scope of, the natural sciences unless colleges offer something tangible, so that management can sell the idea (1) to its boards of directors and (2) to its stockholders. Business is just that practical."

In fundamental respects the predicament of education is that of all qualitative social values in a business society. If its future depends upon its going begging to business, it will have to remake itself and its great tradition in the image of the modern corporation.

Where Are We Going?

WHAT Americans and indeed all other peoples have a right to ask, before the Eisenhower Administration pushes its "positive" foreign policy any further, is exactly what ultimate purpose animates that policy. They have a right to ask what the word "positive" means, in distinction to "containment." They have a right to know whether, if it includes such concepts as "liberation," it implies an ultimate showdown with the Russians and Chinese, and if so what sort of a showdown is contemplated. To find an answer to these questions is not easy, perhaps not possible. A quick review of the President's State of the Union message on February 1, Secretary Dulles's "off-the-cuff" talk a few days before his departure for Europe, and his brief speech after his return, fails to yield any solid information on what we are up to in the world.

My own fear is not that the final objectives of American foreign policy have been fully formulated and then deliberately cloaked in loose generalizations. The danger, in my opinion, is the reverse: that the objectives are still in an amorphous, embryonic stage, but that decisions being taken and actions launched will force the premature crystallizing of those objectives in final and irrevocable shape. If the public statements of our new leaders fail to specify what a "positive" policy means, it may be because meaning is waiting upon acts to make it clear. It is possible that without any formal decision this nation is being committed to a plan not merely to defeat or push back the Communist forces in Korea and Indo-China but by gradual steps to "liberate" all of China. It is possible that we and our allies are being jockeyed into a position which will commit us jointly to the defeat of Soviet power in the satellite countries of Europe, first no doubt through methods of psychological

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warfare but second if necessary through a showdown with Russia. It is possible that we are preparing not merely to defend Western Europe if it is attacked but also, at a propitious moment, to challenge Communist power in Eastern Europe to "roll back" or fight.

All this is possible—but neither we nor our allies nor our enemies have been told whether it is true or likely. In the absence of an open formulation of purposes, we can only go by the sum of appearances. What, for instance, does Eisenhower imply by his repudiation of "secret understandings of the past" which permit the "enslavement of any people"—meaning the Yalta agreement? Poland was already under Stalin's thumb when the Yalta conference met. The deal, which incidentally was not "secret," approved an eastern frontier already set by Russia and endorsed an undefined cession of German territory to Poland. This cession was later defined and accepted at Potsdam, pending final settlement in a treaty of peace; and then, in 1946, it was repudiated by Secretary Byrnes. So there is nothing left on that front, secret or otherwise, for Mr. Eisenhower to repudiate today. The Yalta deal on China was in fact kept secret until 1947. But it was negotiated and agreed to all over again after Yalta in talks between Chiang Kai-shek and Moscow. That it had any influence in bringing about the final victory of Mao Tse-tung only the China Lobby and its backers could seriously maintain.

Again we ask: what does Mr. Eisenhower's repudiation of Yalta mean? Does it mean that we are prepared, by force if necessary, to throw the Communists out of China, to restore Japan's lost islands, to give Poland its 1921 boundaries, to liberate all of Eastern Europe? Perhaps, in line with Mr. Dulles's promise that those "suffering under Communist slavery" can "count on us," it means all this. Or perhaps it is nothing more than a propaganda gesture, an empty and deceptive bit of psychological warfare, as Dr. Conant's first statement in Bonn would seem to indicate. We do not know. . .

And what did Mr. Eisenhower mean by his Formosa decision? Since he is a man of intelligence and a general he knows that it amounts to nothing, either as "sense or logic," unless it is part of a larger plan. The original intervention by President Truman in 1950 did not, except in form, neutralize Formosa or "shield" the Chinese mainland from attack by the defeated and exiled Chiang. The function of the Seventh Fleet was from the start to defend Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa asylum from attack by the victorious Communist army. In other words, it was an open intervention on the side of Chiang in China's civil war. When the Chinese Nationalists grew strong enough to stage small commando raids on the coast, these raids were both countenanced and protected by the Seventh Fleet. General Eisenhower's order will have the effect, we suppose, of stepping up such attacks while maintaining the naval defense of Formosa. He is backing this gesture with the dispatch of more military aid to Chiang and with publicized visits by Nationalist admirals and generals to "inspect" American naval bases and military installations.

All this has been accompanied by a great flurry of talk about a naval blockade of the Chinese coast. Admirals and Senators have expressed opinions on the subject which have sped by air waves to every continent. The Administration has lately been soft-pedaling the idea of a blockade, especially since Dulles's return, but has declared that it will demand action by the United Nations to establish a tight embargo on all trade with China. It has also announced a plan to build up the Nationalist navy. Thus the Formosa move already implies further moves, all aimed at—what? Scaring the Chinese into accepting a Korean truce on American terms? Encouraging pro-Chiang but isolationist Senators in and around the China Lobby to believe we can lick Mao Tse-tung without wasting American man-power? The final objective is not announced, but the policy itself is immensely dangerous.

How seriously it is regarded abroad is made clear in each day's dispatches from India and Pakistan, from Paris and London. If its purpose is to confuse the Russians and Chinese and throw them off balance, Washington had better give thought also to its effect on our allies and friends. Their minds are confused and their balance disturbed by the same collection of rumors, threats, promises, and unexplained actions that are presumably aimed at the enemy. With each day that passes they will demand, more and more insistently, an answer to the question the Eisenhower-Dulles policy has dramatically raised: What is the new Administration up to in the world?

FREDA KIRCHWEY

New Look

With this issue we present our readers with a new format. Aside from the changed cover and new-style heads, which we think handsomer than the old, the greatest changes are in the paper and in the use of three columns instead of two throughout most of the magazine. The smoother paper gives type and drawings greater clarity; the three-column page makes for easier reading and slightly increases the amount of text we can print in an issue. Along with these new features we are particularly glad to introduce two distinguished additions to our editorial staff: Harold Clurman as theater critic, and Maxwell Geismar, author and literary critic, as a contributing editor. Regular readers will also note the changed form of our book section, in which a major review is featured and other important books are discussed briefly, each by an expert in his field.

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J. Alvarez del Vayo

The Lesson of Austria

IN ITSELF it sounds like a joke: the 260th meeting on the Austrian treaty closes in London after two sittings and the British chairman is authorized to call a new meeting three weeks later. But this diplomatic marathon, unique in history, is worthy of something more than a cynical comment. An interesting lesson can be drawn from it.

Austria is in many ways a different problem from Germany, and Soviet policy, accordingly, is also different. At the Moscow conference of 1943 Austria was classed as a liberated country, not a defeated one. To have applied to Austria the same occupation policy that Russia carried out in East Germany would have been an open violation of the clause in the Moscow agreement guaranteeing respect for the unity and political independence of liberated countries. In addition to this, Austria, unlike Germany, continues under four-power control.

No matter how much cause the Austrian government and people have had to complain of Russian occupation policies, especially in matters of reparations and control of industries, the fact remains that in the last general elections, in November, 1950, the two parties most opposed to the Soviet Union and the Communists won a smashing victory—and nothing happened. Similarly, each time the Austrian Communists tried to impose their power by other than constitutional methods, as when the Workers' Councils of Florisdorf called for a general strike in the autumn of 1950, the failure of the attempt produced no reaction on the part of the Russians. They registered the defeat and that was all.

But in the meantime the cold war has been taking its inevitable course, and the political strategists of the Atlantic coalition have successfully enlisted the indirect support of European countries that could not become open allies. The position adopted by the late President Renner of Austria in a famous article published (January, 1948) in *Neues Oesterreich*—"no Anschluss, either toward the northwest or toward the southwest, either toward Moscow or toward Washington"—became less and less tenable. The visits to Washington of the Catholic Chancellor Figl and the Socialist Vice-Chancellor Schaerf and the attitude of Austria in the last session of the U. N. Assembly were already indications that Austrian "neutralism" was acquiring a distinctively Western color.

Negotiations on the Austrian peace treaty, which had dragged along for years, became still more difficult. Russia was plainly not interested in facilitating a solution which would benefit the Atlantic alliance. Formally, the reason for Moscow's recent refusals to sign a peace treaty was its opposition to the "abbreviated" draft suggested by the American, British, and French diplomats as a substitute for "a genuine treaty, basically already concluded, which actually assures Austria's restoration as an independent, democratic, free state"—to quote Ambassador Gromyko. But actually the motive for Russia's resistance is its desire, in the context of the cold war, to maintain armed forces in Austria and also, as permitted by treaty, in the Eastern countries giving access to Austria.

Between the meeting that closed on February 9 and the next meeting, if it is held, the new elections in Austria will have taken place—on February 22. The majority of the parties contesting the elections have made the return to real independence and national sovereignty the major issue of the campaign. In the fight the Soviet Union, accused of having stalled the treaty for five years, is the main target. The anti-Communist forces may win on this issue, but their success will hardly advance the conclusion of an Austrian peace treaty, whose best chance was lost in 1948 when Dr. Evatt, Australian president of the U. N. Assembly, urged that it be negotiated together with the problem of Germany.

The lesson to draw from all this is important. First, it is difficult to obtain peace in a single, limited area while other areas are used as the basis for further preparations for war. That applies to Korea as well as to Austria, and it explains my stubborn skepticism toward the speculations about an "early solution" of the Korean problem that greet each new session of the Assembly. Neither a peace treaty for Austria nor a solution for Korea can be obtained so long as each side fears that the abandonment of its position means the strengthening of its opponent's.

Second, there is a limited moment when negotiations are possible, and if missed it seldom recurs. The recent publication of French and British material on the fateful days of the summer of 1939 confirms this view. When on July 31, 1939, the French-British military mission headed by General Doumencs left for Moscow, it was evident that it had still a very small margin of time in which to settle the two major disputed points: Poland's reluctance to permit Russian forces on its territory in case of a German attack, and a guaranty of protection for the Baltic states against aggression, including "indirect aggression." Molotov had stated in several confidential notes to Paris and London: either we agree now or it will be too late. Daladier and Chamberlain were in no hurry. The moment for negotiation was allowed to pass, and the end of the story everybody knows: the Soviet-German pact and World War II.

Again there is only a limited time for the negotiation of agreements to stop World War III, and in the meantime, while "liberation" replaces "containment" and military preparations go on at an accelerated pace, it is pure romanticism to expect any solution of isolated issues, whether they relate to Korea or Austria. A negotiation on Germany, however, would be a different matter, since Germany is the real key to the European deadlock.

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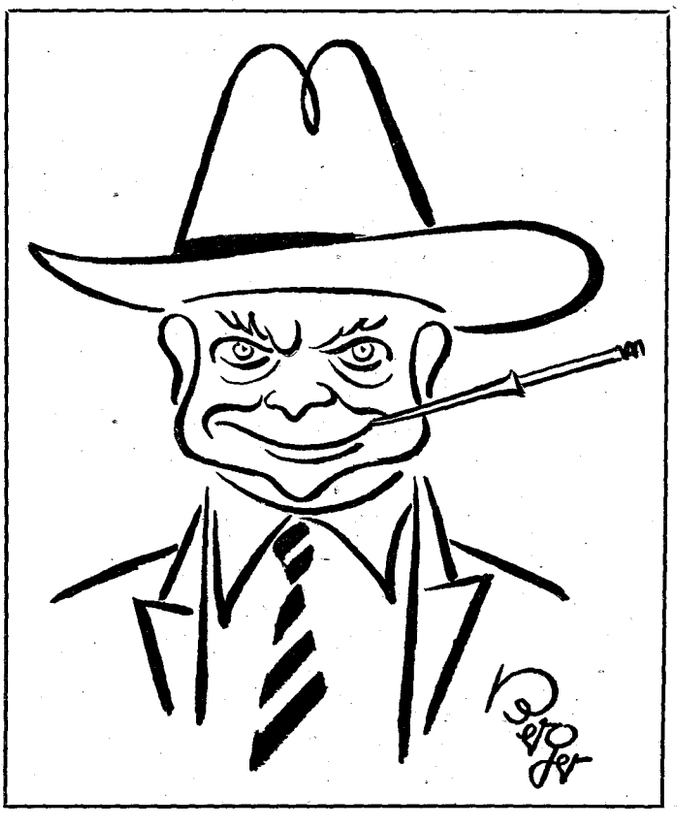
WHAT IKE WILL NEED

. . . the authority of Washington

. . . the humanity of Lincoln

. . . the wisdom of Wilson



. . . the resourcefulness of F. D. R.

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KINGLESS JUNGLE

New York's Water Front . . . *by George Horne*

THE New York State Crime Commission, in the most penetrating of a long series of expert inquiries, has opened up the Port of New York like a patient on the operating table. As the commission examines the port's shocking criminal record, another investigation, this time under federal auspices, is getting under way. But already two aspects of the fantastic picture are clear:

1. By common consent of its inhabitants New York's vast and fabulously wealthy water front is a veritable jungle in which there are no rules except those of the killer and the jackal. The thug in control, to a lesser degree the longshoreman himself, the company which employs him, the agents of the law who should be policing the longshore miles —every element in this complex and baffling community has abdicated its responsibility.

2. Partly because New York is the most crime-ridden port in the world, it is also the most expensive in which to operate. But very little of the excessive fees charged for cargo-handling goes into the pockets of the ordinary dockworker, whose annual income—despite a fairly high hourly wage rate—remains below that of many wage-earners in comparable labor fields.

The testimony taken by the Crime Commission consisted mostly of an incredible series of confessions. Everyone connected with water-front operations appeared to be cheating, scheming, stealing, coercing, paying tribute or taking it. The swindling varied from the extortion of weekly pay envelopes for non-existent workers to blackmail practices carried out in the name of anti-communism. Witness after witness from the ranks of stevedoring and shipping companies admitted that in the naming of their own hiring bosses and loaders they followed the orders of water-front overlords whose identities they did not even know. Sometimes the longshoremen's union, the International Longshoremen's Association (A. F. of L.), in violation of the union-employer contract, insisted on naming the hiring bosses. Thugs demanded regular payments from shipping firms in return for labor peace and fulfilment of the union contract. Pilferage of cargo by individuals and small gangs was revealed as common practice, although the sums involved certainly never reached anywhere near the $50,000,000 a year estimated by some experts.

A high point in the record was the testimony concerning the arrival of a shipload of valuable Russian furs. Longshore leaders, in an outburst of anti-Communist zeal, ordered the workers not to unload the shipment. The longshoremen complied, but meanwhile a handful of local leaders arranged a $70,000 pay-off with the importers, and the furs were unloaded in darkness.

In this maze of evidence the members of the Crime Commission sought to read a single pattern or to uncover a master-mind. They failed. There is apparently no king in this jungle, only jackals and hyenas who are as quick to turn upon each other as upon anyone else. Even "Mr. Big"—William J. McCormack, wealthy stevedore and industrialist and probably the best-known name on the water front—failed to fill the bill, at least so far as the evidence given at the hearings shows. Much of Mr. McCormack's testimony related to a charge that as a former state licensing official he had squeezed $90,000 from the late Tex Rickard. This he enthusiastically denied. As to his water-front activities, which are the subject of more shop talk among longshoremen than those of any other individual, little was brought out at the hearings which impugned him as anything other than a somewhat careless writer. It seems that in August, 1951, Mr. McCormack wrote a report in which he described everything along New York's dockside as perfectly lovely, and that a few months later he wrote another report—this one for Mayor Impellitteri—in which he said that chaos was about to descend on the port. Most water-front observers who see Mr. McCormack regularly at the Whitehall Club, and who hear his name cropping up in longshore talk, agree that this charge of literary inconsistency cannot hurt his reputation very much. After all, he is not known primarily as a literary figure.

The Crime Commission succeeded in amassing an impressive amount of evidence, but in certain directions its inquiries seemed hesitant. It did not, for instance, look diligently into the role that politics plays on the water front, despite several inviting hints that were dropped in the course of the testimony. Nor did it pay more than cursory attention to the surprising number of water-front thieves who received suspended sentences, including many who pleaded guilty.

There are about 40,000 longshoremen in the port of New York, more than the combined total employed in the other eight or nine major ports of the country. For two reasons the New York dockworker cannot ordinarily earn enough to support himself and his family decently. First, and most important, there are just too many of him for the jobs available. Second, under the anarchic conditions which prevail, much of his earnings must be given up in the form of kick-backs, pay-offs, and other types of squeeze. But it must be emphasized that the role played by crime in the New York dockworker's admittedly unhappy lot has been exaggerated as a result of the publicity given the many crime hearings. At least as important as crime is the role played by the law of supply and demand.

In 1951, the last year for which complete and reliable figures are available—

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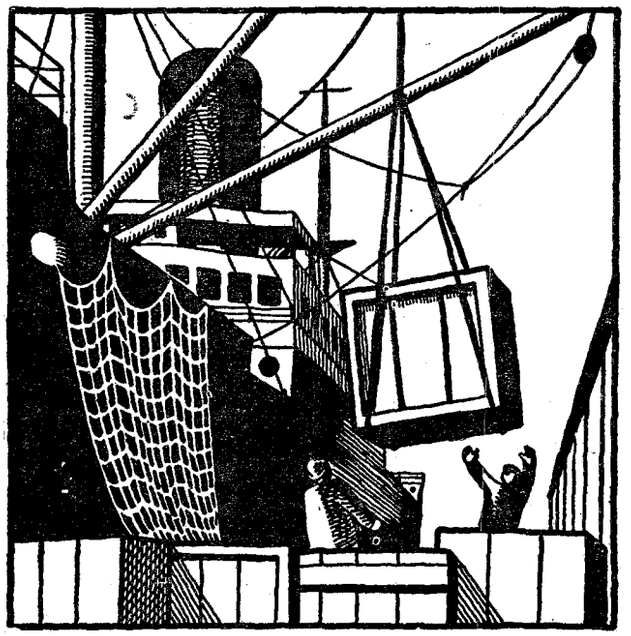

it was a good year for foreign commerce and hence for job availability—14,774 longshoremen, or 35.3 per cent of the men on the roster of the New York Shipping Association, the employer agency, worked 1,200 hours or more during the year. Fewer than 4,000 men, about 9 per cent of the total, worked from 700 to 1,199 hours; 23,000 men, more than half the total, worked 699 hours or less. Of those in the last category, 14,982 worked fewer than 100 hours in the entire year.

By comparison, the steadily employed 40-hour-a-week worker puts in more than 2,000 hours in the course of a year. The fact is that in the longshoremen's trade there are too many casual workers who pick up an occasional day's pay, often at overtime rates. These irregulars lower the earning ability of the men who depend on the docks for their living.

Now let us look at earnings. The dockworker today gets $2.27 an hour, with time and a half for overtime after eight hours and for Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays. For certain types of cargo such as damaged shipments and explosives, he can earn upward of $4.44 an hour straight pay. His wage rate has risen comparably with that in other trades; in 1914 he was earning only 33 cents an hour, while in 1940 he was earning $1.05.

About a dozen years ago, according to studies made at the time, the dockworker's average yearly income was $900. Today it is probably around $2,500. The 1951 statistics show that 9 per cent of New York's 40,000 longshoremen earned $5,000 or more that year, while 49.8 per cent earned less than $1,000. In between we find that 8.5 per cent earned from $1,000 to $2,000, 7.8 per cent from $2,000 to $3,000, 11.1 per cent from $3,000 to $4,000, and 13.8 per cent from $4,000 to $5,000.

The men are hired under the antiquated system called the shape-up. Each day job applicants gather in a semicircle at the pier head while the hiring foreman beckons to individuals or, looking up into the sky, calls out, "Joe's gang! Ray's gang! Red's gang!" While this system has rightfully been attacked as subject to many kinds of criminal abuse, most observers agree that its elimination would be no cure-all for the evils that plague the water front. Were the International Longshoremen's Association a really democratic labor organization, it would long ago have devised a fairer and more modern method of hiring. And most objective observers agree that so long as the I. L. A. remains the kind of organization it is, any other hiring method—including the much-discussed hiring hall—would prove just as susceptible of abuse.

Actually there are favorable aspects to the shape-up: for one thing, it encourages work gangs to stay at the same piers the year around. For steamship and stevedoring concerns, this means that men skilled in specialized types of cargo-handling are always available. It is generally agreed that a real hiring hall which distributed employment under a rotating system would considerably increase cargo-handling costs. The Port of New York Authority has suggested as a compromise plan a kind of state-run employment service which would operate regional centers throughout the city. The plan is now under discussion by the Crime Commission.

Much of the evil of the shape-up, as it now operates, arises from the fact that the union leadership will not permit the employing company to appoint the man who selects the work gangs, extra gangs, and individual extras. Somehow the union manages to elude its responsibilities both to the employer and to its own membership. It represents only its own bureaucracy, and as a result the well-being of the rank and file suffers.

The employers must carry their share of blame for the anarchic conditions. They welcomed the over-supply of labor which tended to keep labor costs down. They shut their eyes to crime in which they did not themselves participate. Some employers deliberately hired thugs in the belief that only tough leadership could keep the men in line. Experience has tended to substantiate their belief; notorious criminals are running piers which—let's face it—have built up excellent records for efficient cargo-handling. In general, shipping is a highly competitive business, and it is difficult for the people in it to work together, even to clean house for their own benefit.

Some years ago Mayor O'Dwyer named a port committee to study various phases of the city's water front. Its findings have been gathering dust in the City Hall for a year. Subcommittees named to study cost factors came up with some plain talk. The New York dockworker is a sturdy fellow with an excellent production record in war time as well as in peace; the port itself offers unequaled services to the shipper. Yet the port is more expensive for a shipper to use than any other in the country, primarily because of the racketeers who infest it.

Let's take the institution known as the public loader, forbidden in every major port except New York. A thug browbeats an operator into appointing him public loader for a terminal. A thousand tons of steel comes into the terminal. The loader hires a longshoreman at $2.27 an hour to load the steel on trucks. As often as not, the lift equipment owned by the steamship company is used. The steel is loaded in a few hours, and the public loader, who sometimes appears only after the job is finished, collects a fee of five cents or more per hundred-weight of cargo. The thousand tons of steel thus yields

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the loader about $1,000, minus the few dollars he pays out to his longshoreman. Sometimes he gets his fee even when the truck driver has done his own loading. The public loader is one of the most desirable jobs on the water front, and men have killed for a share of the spoils.

During the current port inquiry a firm of civil engineers surveyed port traffic and reported that while New York's export-import volume was merely being maintained, the volume at other American ports was increasing steadily. Port officials have plenty of evidence that shippers, whenever they can, divert to other ports to avoid the costs of public loaders, feather-bedding, pay-roll padding, and other rackets, as well as to save money on legitimate costs (it is generally agreed, for instance, that the city's pier rentals are far too high).

New York has such superb advantages as a port that it has been difficult for the shipping industry to realize that its supremacy might one day be challenged. But that day will come unless reform comes sooner. Two possible solutions have been most frequently discussed. One is reform from within—a big wind blowing through the I. L. A.; the parent A. F. of L., at its recent meeting in Miami, announced that the cyclone is on its way. But Senator Tobey, who will head the imminent federal investigation of crime on the water front, has already characterized the A. F. of L. action as a "deathbed repentance."

The alternative solution is state control of the docksides, perhaps through a harbor commission with broad administrative powers. Such a solution would be opposed all the way down the line and probably by the employers. Nevertheless, many persons believe that this is the solution that the State Crime Commission will eventually recommend.

NEW FARM PROGRAM

It's Good for Bankers . . . *by Bruce Catton*

Washington

MAYBE this is where we came in thirty-odd years ago, or maybe it is just that one Republican-big-business Administration is very much like another. At any rate, the Eisenhower regime has come up with a phalanx of leaders and counselors who will bend every effort to save the farmer from himself. Since the farmer is not without friends in Congress, the wind may shift before the year is out. The farm program taking shape will be a lot nicer for the processors, the bankers, and the distributors than for the farmers.

To begin with, the program will be run by men who do not particularly believe in price supports. Secretary of Agriculture Benson avowedly believes that men get along best when they feel the spur of insecurity, which seems to mean that the farmer should never be quite certain that he won't go broke and lose his farm by fall. Benson has gathered about him men who feel the same way. The farm-committee system is likely to go, and with it the payments of a quarter-billion dollars a year for proper soil-conservation practices. A harder dollar and a tightening of farm credit are in prospect.

This could be very serious. Farm prices and incomes have been going down for quite a time; as good a Republican as Senator Thye of Minnesota has said that 1951 and 1952 were the farmer's most difficult years since 1939. Net income for 1953 will be off still more. The industrial boom hurts the farmer as much as it helps him. He has to compete with the giant industries for many of his basic supplies, and he goes on a cash basis into a market where prices are pretty well rigged. In one year farmers use as much rubber and steel as the automobile industry uses in all its passenger cars. The defense economy is creating relative scarcities in everything he buys and putting no floor under his income.

As a result, it takes a fair amount of capital to be a farmer these days—at least $50,000 the National Farmers' Union estimates. And since the average farmer needs a considerable period to lay that much capital aside from his yearly profits, the matter of farm credit is vital. A heavy purchaser of necessities ranging from tractors to insecticides and obliged to pay cash, the farmer could be ruined by a comparatively mild drop in farm prices if reasonable credit were not available to him.

In the present Department of Agriculture the various farm-credit agencies are under the direction of Romeo Short, who came to the department from the vice-presidency of the American Farm Bureau Federation. The Farm Bureau is generally given the credit—or blame—for killing the Farm Security Administration. It has opposed the Farmers' Home Administration, which makes loans to farmers unable to get credit from the banks, has sought to have the Farm Credit Administration made independent of the Department of Agriculture, and has consistently dragged its feet on the rural-electrification program. Thus there is little likelihood that the department will make much credit available to the farmers who need it most.

Equally significant is the development in the department's Commodity Marketing and Adjustment Division. In this division are the farm price-support agencies, including the Commodity Credit Corporation and the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation. The boss man here is John H. Davis of the National Wool Marketing Corporation of Boston. Davis has remarked that the existing

BRUCE CATTON is writing a series of articles on the new Washington Administration.

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price-support program "lacks realism" and that much government buying of farm commodities "could be handled more efficiently through commercial market channels."

In recent years price-support operations have been closely linked with the Production and Marketing Administration, which headed up the extensive farmer-committee system. This system was one of the most interesting parts of the whole farm program. It was the mechanism, controlled almost wholly by the farmers themselves, through which, when necessary, the production-quota system was extended to individual farms and through which also farmers were induced to practice soil conservation. The soil-conservation program has been immensely important not only for its long-term benefits but because it has added approximately a quarter of a billion dollars annually to farm income. The payments made under it have gone chiefly to small farmers. They have been denounced by both Secretary Benson and the Farm Bureau, on the ground that they pay the farmer to do what he

ought to do anyway. (It is a question whether the average farmer can afford to do it without help, but perhaps that isn't germane.) The committee system has always been anathema to the Farm Bureau, which wants to see its functions transferred to the Extension Service. This, in effect, would be to transfer them to the bureau itself. It will probably be done.

The Agricultural Advisory Committee as Benson has set it up is strangely lacking in dirt farmers and heavily weighted with processors. Jesse Tapp, vice-president of the Bank of America, is generally considered its most liberal member. Dean W. I. Myers of Cornell, a director in various large corporations, is one of the most conservative men in America where farm matters are concerned. Among other members are Homer Davidson, vice-president of the American Meat Institute; Robert R. Coker, South Carolina seed dealer, banker, and corporation director; Carl Farrington, vice-president of the Archer-Daniels-Midland Company of Minneapolis; D. W. Brooks, general manager of the Cotton Producers' Association of Atlanta and a member of the Textile Industry Advisory Council; and Albert Mitchell, prosperous New Mexico rancher and Republican national committeeman.

Finally, it may be worth while to recall that in May, 1951, when the meat industry was particularly irked by price controls, representatives of the American Meat Institute, the Farm Bureau, the Grange, and other interested parties met in Washington and came out with something called the Common Sense Meat Program, the principal aim of which was to kill price controls on meat. A committee which undertook to push this program had as chairman one True D. Morse, an executive of Doane's Agricultural Service in St. Louis, who had been preaching sound money, a balanced budget, and no inflation. Mr. Morse is now the Under Secretary of the Department of Argiculture. Morse's name also appeared on the letterhead of the Foundation for American Agriculture, along with that of Romeo Short. R. Douglas Stuart of Quaker Oats was chairman of the foundation and Charles Dana Bennett was its director. It existed chiefly to promote more intimate relations between big business and the farmer and had an anti-union tinge.

Looking at the people appointed and the things said and done in the present Administration's Department of Agriculture, it is not too hard to see what is going on. Control over the nation's farm policies and programs is being taken from the farmers and given to the traditional enemies of effective farm programs. Secretary Benson himself is the perfect illustration. When he first took office he bluntly informed his coworkers in the department that all lazy loafers would now be required to do an honest day's work for a change. And in his first press release he made the erroneous statement that the department was the "largest of all the nation's agencies," a swollen bureaucracy. The significance of that kind of talk is that it could come only from a man who has no use for the old farm programs.

Farm programs hereafter may benefit grain speculators, cotton traders, middlemen of high and low degree. The farmer himself is in danger of losing all he has won in the last twenty years.

Proposals for Peace—VII

BY CLARENCE E. PICKETT

FOR four years now we Americans have been hard at work rearming. It is a good time, therefore, to ask a few questions. Do we feel more secure from attack? Have we created a deep and abiding friendship for us among other peoples? Have we achieved more through negotiation and mediation than we did formerly? Are our motives more fully trusted? Are our own civil rights better protected? I do not believe there has been gain in any of these spheres.

But there have been some gains—the admission to our shores for permanent residence of 400,000 D. P.'s outside the quota, our technical-assistance program, our food-sharing. Perhaps even more important is the new recognition that it is necessary to have persons with outstanding qualities represent our government abroad. Some 85,000 civilian Americans fill this role today. How much of the peace of the world is lost or won by the kind of people they are?

No great and strong country has ever made these interests primary in its security program. It is true that Communists understand strength and can prepare to meet it. But can they compete with us if our central purpose is the welfare of all? The only real aid we can offer is friendship and confidence. These are qualities of international life that do not require bombs and tanks and soldiers to make them accepted. Youth, technicians, and many generous taxpayers are more eager than we realize to throw themselves into a creative program. And it is my belief that nothing would so confound the plans of those who seek to do us harm.

CLARENCE E. PICKETT is honorary secretary of the American Friends Service Committee and cowinner of the 1947 Nobel peace prize.

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SOUTH AFRICA

Who Provoked the Riots? *by Harry S. Warner*

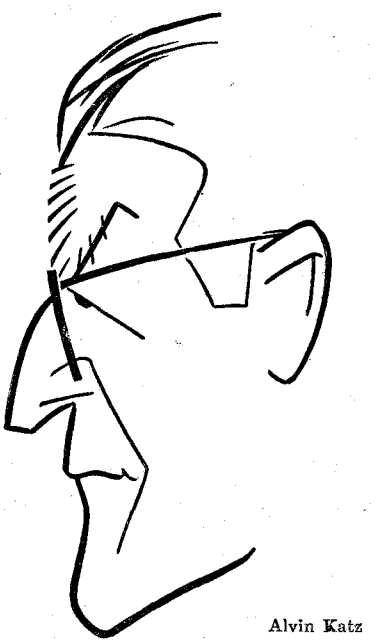
Capetown, South Africa

WITH the aim of breaking all resistance—native, colored, or white—to *apartheid* (segregation) as the dominant factor in South African life, Justice Minister C. R. Swart has introduced a bill which would give the Malan government the right to suspend virtually all law in cases of loosely defined "emergencies." The government is also seeking passage of the so-called "whipping-post" law, which provides fines, jail terms, and the lash for any incitement to violation of any law, particularly one relating to *apartheid*. Both government proposals are termed "Malanazi" by the opposition; surely Hitler never wrested from the Reichstag powers more dictatorial or more destructive of democracy than these.

Everyone knows what Malan and his Nationalists mean when they speak of "emergencies." In the spring of last year the non-whites of South Africa, with the support and sympathy of democratic-minded whites, launched a campaign of passive resistance to the *apartheid* laws. For six months the movement spread peacefully; even witnesses for the Crown—including members of the special political branch of the Criminal Investigation Department—have since testified that the campaign was disciplined, non-violent, and directed not against whites but against "unjust laws."

Then suddenly, between October 18 and November 9 last year, violent clashes with the police took place in four widely separated localities—New Brighton in Port Elizabeth, the Denver Hostel in Johannesburg, the No. 2 Location in Kimberley, and East London. More than forty persons were killed, all but five of them non-whites killed by the police. Several hundred other non-whites were wounded. The exact number is impossible to establish, for in each instance the police, after restoring "order," made the rounds of the hospitals and arrested all persons they had shot, on the theory, apparently, that a bullet wound was proof that the victim had been rioting.

These are the "emergencies" in the minds of the supporters of the "Malanazi" bills. Mr. Swart and his colleagues argue that the riots were "anti-white" demonstrations to be blamed on the leaders of the resistance campaign and on the English-language press which supported it. He and other ministers have also said that the riots were "extensions" of the Mau Mau movement in Kenya. They have given other, and still more contradictory, explanations. But slowly the real facts are coming to light, mainly as the result of investigations by lawyers engaged in defending persons arrested on charges arising out of the riots. And from these facts only one conclusion can be drawn—that the ultimate responsibility for the riots lies with the police and the deliberately provocative behavior of their chief, Minister Swart.



Alvin Katz

C. R. Swart

Let us deal first with Mr. Swart. On November 2—after the incident at Port Elizabeth, but before the others—the Justice Minister made public this statement:

> The police have instructions to take drastic action where there is a threat of a clash between Europeans and non-Europeans. They will strike when necessary and they will shoot when necessary. So called innocent bystanders should get out of the way when there are signs of trouble. If they are so innocent, what are they doing at trouble spots? The police have instructions to act and to act swiftly and they have my support. The organizers of the defiance campaign should heed this warning.

Note that this order requires the police to shoot, not in defense of their own or another person's life—the only time a policeman or anyone else is legally permitted to shoot—but when there is threat of a clash between Europeans and non-Europeans. Not even a clash, simply the threat of one. What amounts to such a threat is a question for the police officer to decide, and his decision will of course depend on how frightened or how trigger happy he happens to feel. If he thinks angry looks amount to a threat he is entitled to shoot.

On November 15, 1952, at a Nationalist Party meeting in the Free State, Mr. Swart said again:

> I have instructed police officers not to wait until their men are killed or wounded in riots before they fire. They have been told to shoot first. The government will deal with the unruly elements with all the force at its disposal.

This conception of a shoot-first-and-talk-afterward police force is in line with Mr. Swart's way of thinking. On an earlier occasion he had said: "Only the police can save South Africa from chaos." After these reiterated instructions is it any wonder that the police soon found occasions to shoot? Is it any wonder that if no occasions arose they began to manufacture them?

In East London the trouble started when the police arrived to break up an

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HARRY S. WARNER is the pseudonym of a South African who has been in close contact with the rapidly developing race problem there.

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open-air prayer meeting. Although there was a ban on meetings in the location, special permission had been granted by the Chief Magistrate to hold this one. While the preacher was reading from the Bible to a crowd of about two hundred, two lorries full of armed police drove up. The preacher was reading about the oppression of the Israelites. The officer in charge decided that he could not permit such subversive theology, and ordered the crowd to disperse within five minutes. The meeting immediately broke up. In less than two minutes, while people were walking away, he ordered a baton charge by the African constables and then a bayonet charge by the European constables. Shots were fired, and a man was killed. Almost everyone injured, whether by batons, bayonets, or bullets, had been attacked from behind. The police then climbed into their lorries and drove up and down the main streets of the location firing at anybody they saw and even into houses. One man was killed while sitting in his kitchen reading a newspaper. One man was killed and two wounded while having a beer party inside a house. Dozens were injured. A woman belonging to one of the religious sects, wearing a red robe and carrying a cross, came round a corner unaware that there was trouble. A policeman jumped off the lorry and ran a bayonet into her leg. Nobody attacked the police in any way—it would have been suicide to do so.

Mr. Gwentshe, the chairman of the African National Congress in East London, went to the police station and obtained permission to drive through the location in a car with a loud-speaker to calm the people. He returned to his house and was fitting the loud-speaker to his car when he saw that the police had followed him. One took aim at him with a rifle; the bullet killed a man standing next to him.

Then the police again drove through the location, firing into the houses. This started the rioting, first stone throwing and later burning of buildings. It is believed that at this stage the Europeans were killed. The police did not stay to put down the riot they had stirred up. They could see that the municipal offices, a welfare center, and a church were burning, but they did nothing about it. By then it was evening. That night they stayed at the police station, which is on the edge of the location, and with guns propped on the window-sills fired into the streets.

At the Denver Hostel the police sniped at Africans standing on the balconies when there was no threat of disturbances. Earlier there had been some trouble; stones had been thrown and windows broken but nobody had been injured. Feelings were high in the hostel on that day because the municipality had raised the rents by 80 per cent and the tenants had decided not to pay the increase until they had made representations to the Native Affairs Department. One man did not abide by the decision and went to pay the sum demanded. A crowd tried to mob him, and he ran for safety into the superintendent's office. Then a crowd of tenants, joined by some poeple from a nearby beer hall, threw stones and broke windows outside the hostel.

When the police arrived, most of the people who lived in the hostel were standing on balconies around a quadrangle, watching the excitement. For half an hour nothing happened. Then someone must have remembered Mr. Swart's orders, and suddenly there was a burst of firing. A man on the first balcony was killed, one on the second balcony injured. People disappeared into the rooms behind. The firing stopped, and the people thought that it was safe to come out. As they did so the police began picking them off. Again they disappeared and waited until they thought it safe to come out to attend to the dead and wounded. Again the police fired at them. All those killed were shot through the head.

To round off the day, the police arrested the three wounded men and the three leading figures on the Tenants' Committee, two of whom were not even at the hostel that afternoon. All are being held on the charge of public violence.

At Kimberley there had been dissatisfaction about the management of the municipal beer hall, and a boycott had been organized. An argument took place with some Africans who wanted to enter the beer hall. A policeman hit a woman on the head with his handcuffs. This infuriated the bystanders and they began throwing stones; then they overturned and burned a municipal lorry parked nearby.

Arrival of a bus-load of police armed with rifles and sten guns put an end to the disturbance, but the police fired point blank into the crowd of Africans gathered around the beer hall. Then, as in East London, they drove through the streets of the location firing at anyone they saw and into the houses. Among those killed was a women carrying a six-months-old baby on her back. Having stirred up the entire location, the police returned to the station, while furious mobs set fire to the location offices, the beer hall, and other buildings that bore evidence to the white man's administration.

At Port Elizabeth a railway policeman tried to arrest an African for failing to pay an extra charge for a tin of paint he was carrying with him on the train. An argument started, and a friend of the man came to his assistance. There was a scuffle, and the railway policeman pulled out his revolver and shot and killed the friend. This was witnessed by a crowd, mainly women, on the railway platform. People ran screaming into the location and spread the story. After a while

TO A SNAIL

Your sensitive exposed flesh as you pass
Might well disarm those deputies of doom
  Who with tensed claw and beak agape
Spread menace from the air or through the grass.
But as a window hardens into glass
And so destroys the mullion whose design
Was its own tegument, you raise a shape
Of brittlest fiber upon fluid line,
Making your progress, like our human, crass
And death expected in that living room.

FRANCIS GOLFFING

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several hundred Africans came out of the location to the railway station, some of them throwing stones. Police reinforcements arrived, and again they fired point blank into the crowd. Again they drove through the location firing into the houses. When they left, a furious mob ran through the location. They burned down the cinema and killed the owner and his son, they burned the post office and other buildings, and they killed a European bringing his workers home on a lorry.

There is one thing the police have learned from these events—how to stir up a riot. In all the locations and townships there is a feeling of dumb frustration and subdued anger which requires only a spark to set it off. In addition, there is a criminal element known as Tsotsis. These are mainly young gangsters who have been driven to crime by slum conditions, poverty, and, most of all, the regulations concerning passes, which make it difficult for them to obtain work. They prey on their own people and often rob and assault the Europeans. When there are shootings and the people's anger is aroused, the conditions for these thugs to take control are created. Tsotsis then lead the violent outbursts of burning and killing. One would think that if the government genuinely wished to stop riots it would permit responsible African leaders like Mr. Gwentshe to exercise leadership in their communities. But that is not the policy of the government. Throughout the eastern province all the well-known leaders have been prohibited from attending "any gatherings." It is not clear whether this means that they are prohibited from standing in bus queues or attending cinemas, but it is certain that they may not address public meetings. One of them has said: "The government is putting the Tsotsis in the leadership of the African people."

There are other signs that the government does not wish a responsible leadership to develop. In the western native areas of Johannesburg, where a gang of hooligans has dispossessed two hundred law-abiding families and forced them to live in an open square, no action whatever has been taken by the police. It is the government's policy to create as much unrest as possible and then to shoot down all who are involved. There is no other explanation for the events I have described. The passive-resistance campaign, peaceful, disciplined, and nonracial, was something it could not handle by ordinary means. So it decided to convert it from a passive into a violent campaign.

MARGARET SANGER

Back from India . . . *by Mildred Gilman*

MARGARET SANGER returned recently from a "birth control" trip that circled the globe. She crossed the Pacific by boat to Japan, flew to India, with stops at Hongkong, Bangkok, Singapore, and Ceylon; then from India she flew to Paris, and returned to America by boat, a trip that would have been strenuous for a woman half her age. She made dozens of speeches, shook thousands of grateful hands, visited many clinics, appeared at functions large and small in her honor, spoke at the Third International Planned Parenthood Conference at Bombay, and attended its nine days' of sessions.

I talked with her in New York on her way back to her Arizona home, where I imagined she would rest after her breathless two months' trip. But rest was farthest from the mind of this vigorous little woman whose original mission forty years ago, to bring relief to New York City slum mothers by birth control, has grown to encompass the whole world.

"I must get busy immediately organizing North America, including all of Canada, for the second meeting of the new International Planned Parenthood Federation, which will be held in Stockholm, Sweden, next August," she said to me briskly, with no thought of an interim for rest. "Japan wants the 1954 meeting. I was elected honorary president of the federation for North America at the Bombay conference. Lady Rama Rau is honorary president for the East." India, Japan, Sweden seemed no farther away to her than the Bronx must have seemed back in 1916 when she was fighting to establish permanent birth-control centers in Manhattan.

She told me of her pleasure at the warm reception she had received in Japan this time in contrast to the cold shoulder the militarists turned toward her in 1922 and the refusal of the American occupation forces to admit her in 1950, despite the expressed wishes of the people. "This time there were actually loud-speaker trucks telling about the coming of Margaret Sanger to Japan. People flocked out of their shops and doorways. Children in school yards ran into the streets to learn what was going on. The trucks shouted, 'Sanger is here! She says no abortions. Sanger is here! She says no obortions'."

India, like Japan, was an old story for Mrs. Sanger, who had attended the All India Women's Conference there sixteen years ago. At that time she helped to obtain adoption of a resolution demanding that contraceptive information and supplies be distributed by municipalities to their health departments, particularly to all midwives and visiting workers. This progressive step was taken despite the opposition of Gandhi. Mrs. Sanger feels that her earlier visit did much to lay the groundwork for India's acceptance of the recent conference, at which about five hundred

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delegates from fourteen nations established the first world-wide planned-parenthood organization.

The Hindu religion has no injunctions against birth control, and the present limited opposition comes from a dwindling group of Gandhi's followers and a small number of Roman Catholics. "On my earlier visit," Mrs. Sanger said, "I found Gandhi most hospitable and friendly. We took long walks and had extended discussions in which I put forth my best arguments. We both agreed that families should be limited; he felt three or four children to a family were enough, but he insisted that intercourse, therefore, should be restricted to three or four occasions during the entire married life of the couple. He felt that women who wanted to control the size of their families should 'resist' their husbands, in extreme cases leave them. Needless to say his suggested 'methods' have had no success."

The spirit of Mahatma Gandhi lives on in modified form in the present Health Minister, who was one of his secretaries, and in an elderly woman named Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, who was a devout disciple. The latter is a highly respected person who has done much good for India, but it is due to her influence that the four government-sponsored child-spacing clinics set up as experiments in India by Dr. Abraham Stone under the auspices of the World Health Organization have so far used only the "rhythm" method.

Mrs. Sanger found the younger doctors and public-health nurses eager to learn safer, better methods of birth control. More than half of the delegates from India to the Bombay conference were under thirty-five. Many were too poor to afford even the most modest hotels. Some had walked long distances to Bombay, lacking the money for railroad fare. Many reported that a few hundred rupees had been scraped together in their home villages to get the help of a doctor and set up a modest clinic. The conference hall "was jammed to the ceiling," the greatest interest being shown by the men.

"India's women," Mrs. Sanger continued, "under the leadership of the wonderful Madam Pandit, Lady Rama Rau, and others, have taken great strides toward independence, but it is still a land in which girls marry as children,

Margaret Sanger

passing at puberty from their father's domination to that of their husband. Laws for relieving the sad condition of India's widows, who may not remarry, and for allowing daughters as well as sons to inherit from their fathers are being pushed in the legislature, but there is strong opposition. Nevertheless, many changes are taking place. More young people are marrying for love instead of by parental decree. For the first time, in both Japan and India, I saw wives walking beside their husbands, no longer respectfully a few feet behind them. Some of the younger men even carried the babies on their backs."

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, vice-president of India, scholar, revered spiritual leader, and president of UNESCO, embodies perhaps more than any other person the spirit of the new India. In his opening address to the conference he dismissed as spurious the argument that birth control interferes with nature or is contrary to the will of God. "God is not an external despot or a sultan in disguise," he said. "What is civilization? Is it not progressive control of nature? To combat disease, pestilence, prolong the span of life—all these mean a fight against the drift of nature. Abstinence [counseled by Gandhi] is in essence a defiance of the edict of nature. . . . Intelligence is a divine gift, and it is up to us to use it in furtherance of social happiness and individual development."

According to Mrs. Sanger, "the widely held idea that illiterate villagers are uninterested in birth control and will not take the trouble to practice it was one of the myths dissipated at the conference. Preliminary investigations of the attitudes of both urban and rural families toward limiting the family showed 75 per cent ready to accept it without any prior education or propaganda. Our own coworker, Mary Langford, who was in charge of one of the demonstration clinics, said that two men walked eighty miles to the clinic to learn a safe method of planning families."

One side activity of the conference which received almost no publicity because the problem is not associated with the Indians was the instruction asked for and given in the correction of infertility. "Infertility," said Mrs. Sanger, "is more of a tragedy to Hindus than to peoples whose religion does not glorify fertility. The family-planning movement is as interested in helping infertile mothers to have babies as it is in relieving the over-fecund."

The most important thing is that India, with a population of more than 360,000,000 people which is increasing by approximately 5,000,000 a year, recognizes the need to limit its numbers, for its own well-being and for the peace of the world. As in Japan, the government has sponsored steps to meet this need. The Indian consulate general in New York City reports that there are 200 birth-control clinics in 28 cities of 21 states of India, 15 of them being in the municipality of Bombay. And in his report to Parliament on the country's first five-year plan, presented last December, Prime Minister Nehru included a request for $1,300,000 for family-planning clinics throughout the country. This request has since been approved. Results will be obtained more slowly in India than in Japan, Mrs. Sanger believes, owing to India's staggering illiteracy rate—about 90 per cent—and its many different languages and dialects.

In summing up Mrs. Sanger said, "I spoke to large, eager audiences in India as I did in Japan. I talked with individuals. I am convinced as never before that the problem is no longer one of acceptance; it is of developing one of the new contraceptives to the degree where it can be used easily by people in the most remote provinces, living in the most primitive conditions, but still eager to achieve the human dignity of planning their families."

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BOOKS

Woman's Place *by Patrick Mullahy*

THE SECOND SEX. By Simone de Beauvoir. Translated and Edited by H. M. Parshley. Alfred A. Knopf. $10.

"THE SECOND SEX" is in many ways a superb book, brilliantly written with a broad scope and keen psychological insight. However, because of certain political leanings Mme de Beauvoir has to be read with critical caution.

The author is, or was, a close associate of Jean-Paul Sartre, and her book abounds in existentialist language. "The Second Sex," originally published in France in two successive volumes, discusses the problem of women from various angles. Book One (Fact and Myths) includes a critical review of woman's problems seen from the perspectives of biology, psychology, history, historical materialism, literature, myth, mysticism, and so on. Among the topics discussed in Book Two (Woman's Life Today) are Childhood, The Young Girl, Sexual Initiation, The Lesbian, The Married Woman, The Mother, Social Life, Prostitutes and Hetairas, From Maturity to Old Age, Woman's Situation and Character, The Narcissist, The Woman in Love, The Mystic, The Independent Woman.

Woman, says Mme de Beauvoir, is not regarded as an autonomous being. She is "defined" by man not "in herself" but in relation to him. She belongs to the category of the "Other." "In the most primitive societies, in the most ancient mythologies, one finds the expression of a duality—that of the Self and the Other." Man, the author holds, never thinks of himself without thinking of the Other. Man orients himself in the world "under the sign of duality," though this duality was not originally sexual in character. "But being different from man, who sets himself up as the same, it is naturally to the category of the Other that woman is consigned; the Other includes woman." Man has become sovereign, Subject, Self, while woman has become the Other, the inessential, the object. Following an idea of Hegel, Mme de Beauvoir says: "We find in consciousness itself a fundamental hostility toward every other consciousness; the subject can be posed only in being opposed—he sets himself up as the essential, as opposed to the other, the inessential, the object."

But the other ego or self sets up a reciprocal claim. To the stranger I am the Other, the inessential, the object—which may be something of a shock to me. Hence I am forced to recognize that the polarity of Self and Other expresses a reciprocal relationship, a reciprocal relationship of subject and object. But why has this reciprocity not been recognized between the sexes? Why has one of these contrasting relationships been established as the essential one? Why is man the sovereign Subject? In other words, why do women not fundamentally challenge male sovereignty? How explain the submission of women? Since other groups can in various ways free themselves from the dominion of their oppressors, why does woman not get rid of or free herself from her "oppressor," man, and attain "an authentically subjective attitude"? The answer, in part, is that women are related to men in a more fundamental fashion. The bond that unites woman to man—and conversely, of course—is not comparable to any other. Unlike other divisions in the world, the division of the sexes is a biological event, not an event in human history like, say, the division according to "race" or class. Male and female constitute a fundamental unity. "Here," according to Mme de Beauvoir, "is to be found the basic trait of woman: she is the Other in a totality of which the two components are necessary to one another."

Still the question recurs, since men and women are complementary, why have women not been liberated from oppression, freed from the category of absolute Other? "The Second Sex" attempts to answer this problem. I myself think that Mme de Beauvoir's existentialist categories are not logically necessary, that they add nothing to her analysis, but this issue is a minor one.

Though today woman is heavily handicapped, her situation is beginning to change. But is the change a good thing, and if so, why? The answer to this presupposes an ethical philosophy, in the author's case an existentialist ethics. Perhaps the following will give a hint of what this is: "Every subject plays his part as such specifically through exploits or projects that serve as a mode of transcendence; he achieves liberty only through a continual reaching out toward other liberties. There is no justification for present existence other than its expansion into an indefinitely open future. . . . Every individual concerned to justify his existence feels that his existence involves an undefined need to transcend himself, to engage in freely chosen projects."

And if the prospect of woman's "transcendence" is anxiety-provoking to some, Mme de Beauvoir attempts to reassure them: "To emancipate woman is to refuse to confine her to the relations she bears to man, not to deny them to her; let her have her independent existence and she will continue none the less to exist for him *also:* mutually recognizing each other as subject, each will yet remain for the other an *other.*"

Woman's problem can be stated, then, in terms of how a human being in her situation can attain fulfilment, liberty, transcendence. The author set herself the task of discovering what circumstances limit woman's liberty and how they can be overcome. "The Second Sex" surveys the various factors—biological, psychological, historical, economic, social—which have brought about her situation. But she appears to believe that "the economic interests of the males" are causally fundamental, though she recognizes that other factors

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have been at work too. For she says, among other things, that while a change in the economic condition is not alone sufficient to transform woman's situation, it has been and remains the basic factor in her evolution. Here, I think, there lies an ambiguity in the analysis, but it is impossible to go into that in a review.

The author appears to put her ultimate hopes for woman's freedom in "democratic socialism," not in any totalitarian regime. Soviet Russia "has revived the paternalistic concept of marriage." Nevertheless, she seems rather apologetic about Russia. She makes certain claims about that country which one would like to see reliably documented. Only the innocent will be convinced by her quotations from the Soviet constitution of 1936 and the Communist International. In regard to the United States, she can find little to say that is favorable.

There are times when Mme de Beauvoir seems to resort to a form of shock therapy. Concerning the connection—or lack of it—between love and marriage she says that adultery is "the form that love will assume as long as the institution of marriage lasts." There are some who consider such a notion a product of neurotic anxiety. It raises a fundamental point, however, about her outlook toward society. Brilliant as Mme de Beauvoir is, her sociology is a bit naive. She does not really face the enormous complexities which any advanced society has to deal with. In one sense she is a romantic individualist. References to a future utopian society really tell us nothing. They offer no concrete guide as to how both men and women can solve their problems—personal and social. The fact is that men are much less autonomous subjects than Mme de Beauvoir would have us believe. Of course she knows that, but she slights it in favor of a simpler explanatory scheme. To be sure, oversimplification at times has its justification because it highlights problems which are ignored or not sufficiently noted, if at all. We may grant that point without forgetting that other more comprehensive problems remain.

After she has presented us with such a brilliant work, it is perhaps unjust to demand more. I only wish to add that woman's problems are part of the wider problem of interpersonal relations in family, school, work place, community, and society in general. To understand these we need a more powerful psychology than Mme de Beauvoir possesses and a more powerful sociology and social philosophy. She has done an excellent job of showing some of the limitations of psychoanalysis, historical materialism, and various ideas derived from biology, literature, and philosophy. But her suggestions are too simple to be of much use in working out a solution to woman's problems. It is necessary to emphasize this, I think, because of the sweeping generalizations she makes about marriage, present-day society, and the like.

As an individual achievement "The Second Sex" is first rate. Its author has remarkable powers of observation, a keen and sensitive mind. On the whole the book is a delight to read. It will help to dispel many of the current ideas about women derived from Freud's theories. In fact, it will probably do much to dispel many of the contemporary prejudices about women.

New Books in Brief

Ways to Truth

TWO ROADS TO TRUTH. By Edmund W. Sinnott. Viking. $3.50. There can be few goals more difficult to achieve or more ardently pursued than the attempt to find a satisfactory reconciliation of faith and reason, religion and rationalism. This latest quest by the dean of the Yale Graduate School comes nearer than most. His analysis of the nature of religion and of science is concise, lucid, and eloquent; it is when he tries to prove them two facets of the same truth that he becomes involved in such dubious statements as "The brotherhood of man will come only if the fatherhood of God is recognized. Moral problems will never be solved unless they are treated as part of the structure of the universe." Nevertheless, although one may quarrel with its conclusions, the book is stimulating and provocative.

All About Jefferson

JEFFERSON READER: A TREASURY OF WRITINGS ABOUT THOMAS JEFFERSON. Edited with an Introduction by Francis Coleman Rosenberger. Dutton. $5. Variety and freshness mark this collection of writings about Thomas Jefferson. It begins with excerpts from the reminiscences and reports of fifteen of his contemporaries; then follows a mixed bag of eulogy and satire in verse and of calumny in prose; then come nine essays by experts on as many aspects of Jefferson's career and thought; then a sheaf of poems by our own contemporaries; utterances by four Presidents (one of whom had something to say); and last, to fill up the measure, seven miscellaneous pieces, including one of Macaulay's forthright and prophetic letters to Jefferson's great nineteenth-century biographer, Henry Stephens Randall. Several of the essays, such as John W. Davis's on Jefferson as a lawyer and Gilbert Chinard's on his classical scholarship, are hardly accessible to most readers; the editor is specially to be commended for giving them a wider circulation. The volume as a whole is neither a unified biography nor an interpretation of Jefferson; it is an engaging miscellany illustrating but not exhausting its subject and the ways in which he has aroused the curiosity, admiration, or hostility of people in every era and walk of life.

Magnolia Myths

MYTHS AND REALITIES: SOCIETIES OF THE COLONIAL SOUTH. By Carl Bridenbaugh. Louisiana. $3.25. Professor Bridenbaugh's book is a little masterpiece of social history. Its thesis that the pre-Revolutionary "South" consisted of three distinct societies is not entirely novel, but the idea has never been so clearly and thoroughly supported by evidence. The three societies are the Chesapeake, which includes the Albemarle region of North Carolina as well as Maryland and Virginia; the Carolina, centering on Charleston; and the Back Settlements, extending all the way from Mason and Dixon's line to southern Georgia.

In two hundred pages, never congested, Mr. Bridenbaugh sketches the life of the three, setting them in sharp contrast; and the "myths" that cluster

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around all three, but especially around the first two, are examined and dissipated. Chesapeake pretensions to a well-developed literary, artistic, and intellectual culture are cut down drastically; and the newly rich planters of the Carolina coast are treated even more severely. In both cases there should be no doubt about the verdict. Mr. Bridenbaugh has special respect for the Moravians of North Carolina; his book should awaken new interest in them. "Myths and Realities" will delight any reader; the professional student will find it an excellent starting-point for further work and will be grateful for its full bibliographical notes and references.

A Romantic Socialist

MY DEAR TIMOTHY. By Victor Gollancz. Simon and Schuster. $5. An eloquent, exasperating, muddle-headed, and warm-hearted self-portrait by a romantic idealist and ardent Socialist who is also a hard-headed publisher. The reader's temptation to close the book with a bang will be strong when he comes to such passages as these: "Matter at the service of spirit, matter become one with spirit, that should be the aim of our Socialist commonwealth. . . . I want to see the socialism of our day reaching out more and more to the idea of goodness." Or: "I have always felt a vast, single, living bliss behind everything." But the over-all effect is impressive—testimony to one man's goodness and his belief in the human race.

Adolescent's Portrait

LOVE FOR LYDIA. By H. E. Bates. Atlantic–Little Brown. $3.50. Except for the sudden melodramatic twists in this story of young love in a small English town, "Love for Lydia" moves lethargically, and the author relies upon his characters to sustain interest. But Mr. Bates does not have the mature insight to create a convincing portrait of adolescence. His characters are too shallow and weak to give conviction to the artificial tragedies they are made to enact. The author is, however, adept at sketching his minor characters, and in a few competent strokes he gives the reader two fading aristocratic aunts, a remarkably vulgar newspaper editor, and a tomboy whose ugliness conceals a fermenting passion. Bates's failure to develop a strong hero and heroine is what has made "Love for Lydia" a trivial and inadequate novel.

Labor's Lansbury

THE LIFE OF GEORGE LANSBURY. By Raymond Postgate. Longmans, Green. $4.75. There are few more attractive figures in the history of the British Labor movement than George Lansbury, who died in 1940 in his eighty-first year. Agitator, local administrator, editor, member of Parliament, and Cabinet minister—in all these roles he worked ceaselessly and unselfishly to promote the achievement of the Socialist commonwealth which to him was the essential goal of a Christian society. For four years he led the attenuated Labor opposition in the House of Commons, doing much to restore the party's morale after its shattering defeat in 1931. His resignation was due to his whole-hearted pacifism, which seemed increasingly unrealistic to his colleagues. While wisely refraining from any attempt to estimate his place in history, Raymond Postgate does not disguise his belief that Lansbury was a great man. This may be the partisan opinion of a devoted son-in-law and collaborator. But great or not, "G. L.," as he was affectionately known to vast numbers of workers, was certainly a good man and a very lovable personality. His story was well worth telling both for its intrinsic interest and for the light it throws on the vicissitudes of the British Labor movement.

Birds in Hand

OUR AMAZING BIRDS. By Robert S. Lemmon. Paintings by Don R. Eckelberry. American Garden Guild and Doubleday. $3.95. Bird books are evidently popular, and they are "angled" in many different ways. This one is neither a field guide on the one hand nor merely something for the library table on the other. A member of the graphic staff of the National Audubon Society has provided a lavish number of lively black-and-white paintings; a former editor of *House and Garden* has contributed informative portraits of something more than a hundred species. The result is not only pleasant to look at and very easy to read but might well serve as an introduction to the birds for those who are not ready to cope with more ambitious books. Most of the species the Easterner is likely to see first are there. Incidentally the modest price makes it quite a bargain as handsomely illustrated books go.

Theater

Harold Clurman

A PLAY, in stage terms, is a scenario or a plan of action to be performed by living persons. The basis of drama, then, is action. But action cannot be abstract. It is seen through people who are characters, and in most plays the characters speak words which, though primarily intended to define and carry forward the action, possess a quality of their own. Action is also modified by place—not only the locale of the story itself but the actual place of performance or "stage practice," which must ultimately determine something in the nature of the action. Every character, besides having an ideal identity in the scheme of the play, has a real identity through the actor who embodies him. For this reason the theater, which is an art of many parts, achieves unity only as one conceives all of them with a view to grasping their central spirit, the root of their organic life.

"Love's Labor's Lost," perhaps the first of Shakespeare's plays, is based on a very fragile line of action. Its characters are almost pastel sketches. Yet how lovely and lyric, how bright and gay, youthful and joyous is the feeling of the play. It is all fun and tender merry-making. It bathes blithely in that "sweet smoke of rhetoric" which Shakespeare liked both to laugh at and indulge in. Euphuism and airy conceits, pride in pedantry and glowing satisfaction in new learning—all these Shakespeare affectionately mocks because he knows he is enthusiastically guilty of all

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of them. He has in him something of the fantastical Spaniard Don Adriano de Armando, lovably mad, who "hath a mint of phrases in his brain," a quixotic loon without a shirt to his name, whom the aristocrats use as a sort of court fool. "The music of his own vain tongue doth ravish like enchanting harmony."

Just as Shakespeare in this early flight spreads his sumptuous plumage of splendid words, so his theme, expressed largely through that happy blade Berowne, is the excellence of love, the pleasures provided by womankind, the primacy of passion. "Abstinence engenders maladies." How this play revels in its own youth, its discovery of language, laughter, and bubbling genius! The play is a harbinger of the Shakespeare to come: it has the glamour of an awakening to a brilliant dawn.

I do not know how the play should be done—except that there must be gaiety and freshness in it. I do not know where it takes place—except on a stage—for the Navarre which is the locale of its action is nothing but the playground of the poet's fancy.

Albert Marre, who directed the City Center production—the first in New York since 1891—has chosen to do the play in an Edwardian mode, which is as quaint and as near or far as need be. To translate the play in this fashion is as legitimate, it seems to me, as to approximate any pseudo-historical time. The "translation" is consistently carried out and certainly amusing. It makes the play a pleasant college boys' romp—and that in a way is just what it is. This "Love's Labor's Lost" has really been directed—which is a rather rare thing in our theater. It has been given a theatrical form—in terms of the eye and the feeling which goes with what the eye sees—and that, in part, is what we mean when we speak of stage direction. The costumes are charming—as if for a Wilde play done as an operetta; the use of the musical accompaniment is quite winning.

The cast has a young complexion which goes well with the rest. Its diction is a bit over-deliberate, showing a modest caution that is to be recommended even though it constrains and dulls the pace somewhat. But better a hesitant Shakespeare that is heard than a confident one that is blustered or blurred.

The men have better roles than the women. Priscilla Morrill as Jacquanetta has a merry eye, and Nancy Marchand as the Princess of France a good presence. Philip Bourneuf as Holofernes and Hurd Hatfield as Sir Nathaniel are particularly humorous (Hatfield's real talent, I now discover with pleasure, is for character acting), and Joseph Schildkraut is charmingly foolish and forlorn as Don Adriano. Mr. Schildkraut, who it is no news to say is a fine actor, must however overcome one serious fault: he tends to draw his audience's attention to the precise effect he is making so that he seems not only to be acting his part but to be demonstrating how he is acting it. When he is commendably simple, as here, he seems to be asking his audience to appreciate the fact of this simplicity—which makes his performance not quite so simple as he intends.

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"The Emperor's Clothes"

A PLAY must be constructed to work on the stage if it is to be shown on the stage; that's a first rule. But sometimes plays are written and produced as though for the stage alone. A spectator observes that they move well, that tension is rising and flowing toward a climax, that the characters are being drawn and shaped by their impact on one another, but little or nothing of this comes across the footlights. He feels that if he had been up there in the thick of the play, the circumstances might have been both clear and important, but as it happens he is the witness to events he cannot share and only partly understands. The lines of force are self-contained and do not project into the auditorium.

Such a play is George Tabori's "The Emperor's Clothes." It is full of matters that concern an audience: the power of the single spirit to resist the pollution of the total state; the problem of honesty in close relationships; the essence of truth in the confusion of facts; love, honor, courage, and the like. The scene is Budapest in 1930, the plot concerns a small professional man who, both despite and because of his son and wife, succeeds in taking his stand. Mr. Tabori does not appear to have much new to say on these subjects, but that is not a serious fault, for they are always worth discussing in familiar terms. The fault is that he has been so much concerned with how his play would perform that he has thought little of how it would communicate. His back is to the audience. The characters do not seem entirely consistent, nor are their reactions evidently gauged to their experiences. But you cannot really attack them on this score, for you are never abreast of the proceedings. At the end you see that there has been a triumph, but you cannot be sure that it is a valid triumph. In any case, it does not greatly concern you, for you were not party to the struggle.

The play was written behind the footlights, and it has been produced there. Lee Cobb, Maureen Stapleton, and Brandon de Wilde fill the stage with noise and motion. They are sure actors, their support from the minor roles is deft, and they have been well orchestrated. Nevertheless, their performances are theatrical, not dramatic. Harold Clurman has directed the play in terms of its stage virtues perhaps because those were the virtues available to him. The production is a model of exits and entrances, of crossings and clashes and the rise and fall of vocal tides. If Cobb has a tendency to intone his lines, it may be because the lines will not go in plain speech. The play is full of brocaded philosophy, a little too rich for its content.

There might be another approach that would get "The Emperor's Clothes" across to its audience, but there is also a high degree of probability that it would collapse if extended that far.

ROBERT HATCH

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Records

B. H. Haggin

BACH'S Clavierübung has been issued in its entirety on seven Haydn Society records. Three records are devoted to the six Partitas of Part 1, one record to the Italian Concerto and French Overture of Part 2 and the Four Duets from Part 3, and one record to the Goldberg Variations of Part 4—all played on the harpsichord by Ralph Kirkpatrick; and one record to the Prelude, Chorale Preludes, and concluding Fugue of Part 3, played on the organ by Paul Callaway.

In his accompanying notes Kirkpatrick, placing this work of Bach in the category of works like the Etudes of Chopin, Schumann, Liszt, and Debussy, contends that the "keyboard practice" of the title is to be taken "in the sense of an exercise, an activity of the spirit," and cites Bach's own statement that the various pieces have been "composed to delight the spirit of music lovers." But Bach's way of exercising the spirit was to exercise his prodigious craftsmanship and knowledge of techniques and styles; and some of the results offer more to delight an interest in the skilful use of techniques and styles than to delight the spirit. All six Partitas are no doubt fascinating to anyone interested in their "astonishing assimilation of French, Italian, and German keyboard styles"; but as a mere music lover I find only No. 1 in B flat and to a lesser degree No. 3 in A minor interesting to listen to simply as music. Similarly, the French Overture and Italian Concerto may excite some listeners with Bach's "[appropriation] to the harpsichord [of] prevailing French and Italian orchestral styles of the preceding fifty years," but listening to the music I am excited only by the wonderful slow movement of the concerto. Again, however interesting Part 3 may be to some for the elaborately organized "mathematical and symbolic structure" that Bach erects out of the chorales to illustrate the basic tenets of Lutheran doctrine, what affects me as great music is the magnificent opening Prelude and several of the longer Chorale Preludes—the other longer and shorter ones being, for me, less interesting, and the concluding Fugue impressive as a piece of fugal construction. The Four Duets may interest some as "the most highly concentrated two-voice music that Bach ever wrote," but I find them quite dull. And while everything in the Goldberg Variations may sound like "unsurpassable invention" to some ears, I hear examples of mechanical use of the variation process as well as things as wonderful as the three slow variations in minor mode.

Much of Kirkpatrick's playing is relaxed, sensitive, clear, and strong; but at times it is tight, stiff, stolid: the Praeludium of the Partita No. 1 hasn't the easy flow, the Sarabande the cohesive note-to-note continuity that I can recall hearing in other performances; the slow movement of the Italian Concerto flows less easily than in Mr. Kirkpatrick's own Musicraft performance years ago. And in those slow Goldberg variations in minor mode there isn't the spaciously elaborating inflection—both powerful and subtle—that I have heard give them overwhelming expressive effect in other performances. Important in connection with all this is the delicate, lovely sound of the old Chickering harpsichord Mr. Kirkpatrick uses: it adds to the pleasure from his best playing, and makes the occasional stiffness and stolidity easy on the ear.

Callaway's performances of the organ works also seem excellent; but the thick sounds of the Washington Cathedral organ are made even less clear by the excessively long reverberation.

From Columbia has come a set of three records with organ works played by Albert Schweitzer—the first offering Bach's Toccata, Adagio, and Fugue in C, Fantasia and Fugue in G minor, and Fugue (again without the Prelude) in A minor; the second six of Bach's Chorale Preludes; the third the less familiar Preludes in C and D and Canzona in D minor (Schweitzer Edition Vol. 2 Nos. 10, 12, and 13), and Mendelssohn's Sonata No. 6, of which I find only the Canzona interesting. Even when Schweitzer's first recorded performances of the fugues were issued years ago I found that their simplicity was carried to the point of occasional ineffectiveness; now I can see that he is entirely without the performer's art—the legitimate art of pacing, articulating, and shaping a piece of music—that is required for the effective presentation to the listener's mind of even a Toccata and Fugue of Bach. But now as then the method—and in particular the slow pace—works well with the Chorale Preludes, producing clear and moving statements of the wonderful "Ich ruf' zu Dir, Herr Jesu Christ," "Nun komm', der Heiden Heiland," "O Mensch, bewein' dein' Sünde gross" (first and second versions, of which the second is especially wonderful), and "Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sind." The sounds from the organ of the Parish Church in Gunsbach, Alsace, are not as compact and clear as those from the organ Schweitzer used in the earlier performances.

Letters

New Farm Commission

Dear Sirs: As a farm reader I want vigorously to object to Eisenhower's farm commission.

First, the fourteen-man commission is overweighted with food processors with an interest in buying cheap from farmers and selling dear to consumers. By the same token it is underweighted with dirt farmers or their spokesmen with an interest in maintaining a decent standard of living for working farmers.

Second, the New York *Times,* in a recent editorial, was completely wrong in suggesting that sentiment for high-level supports exists chiefly in Washington. It is the other way around. The sentiment for high-level supports is so strong at the grass roots that the politicians and bureaucrats in Washington are forced to get on the bandwagon.

Third, the *Times* is wrong in suggesting that 90 per cent support is "high" level. The parity formula is simply a device for keeping farm prices in line

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with costs of operating. Why should farmers be forced to operate for 90 per cent or 60 per cent of their costs, which they can only do by reducing the standard of living of their families?

Fourth, the nature of our farm economy requires a government program of stabilized prices at full parity levels. Farmers cannot set their own prices as do most businesses via a standard mark-up. Farm prices fluctuate widely, while cost items, such as machinery, repairs, commercial feeds, local taxes, gasoline, and seeds are all relatively insensitive to price changes. The result is that farmers are often caught in a price squeeze that hampers farm efficiency and may produce bankruptcy.

Farmers do not enjoy generous tax write-offs or cost-plus-10-per-cent contracts—110 per cent of parity—as defense industrialists do. Farmers only ask for stabilization at 100 per cent of parity! We should all have learned under Roosevelt that our prosperity is based on adequate income (buying power) among farmers and workingmen. Let us hope that Mr. Eisenhower and his new farm commission grasp this simple proposition before it is too late.

JAMES M. YOUNGDALE

Benson, Minn.

An American Replies to Elio Vittorini

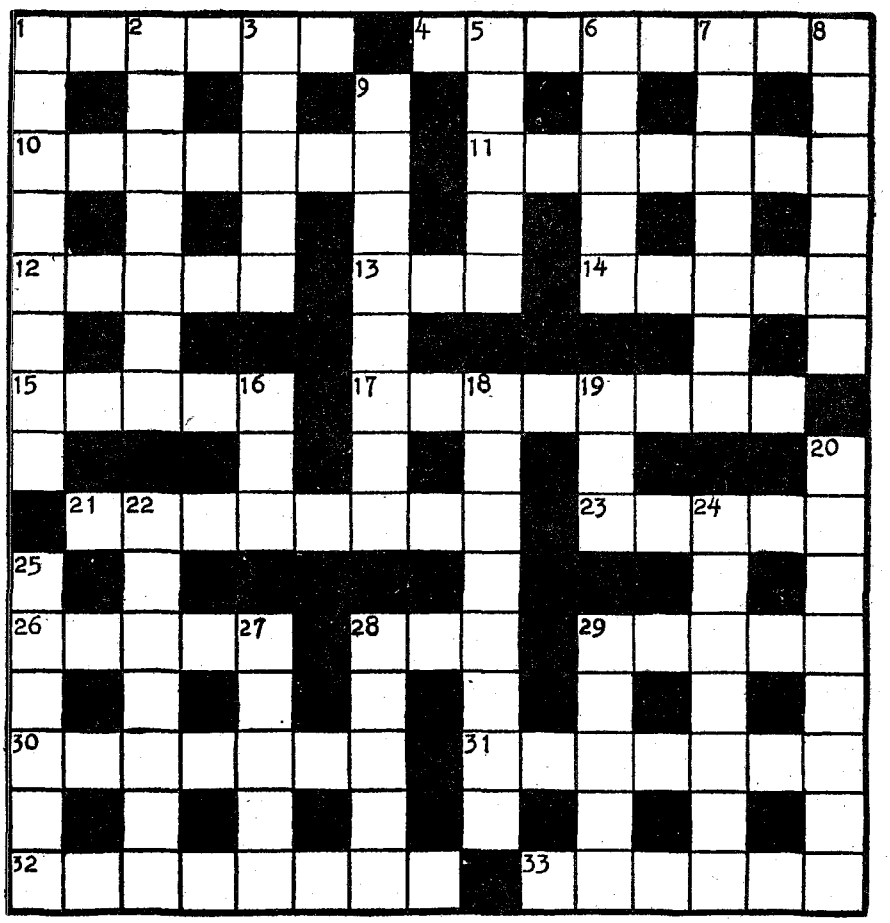
Dear Sirs: The problems of an organized society are a good deal more complicated than either the Stalinists or those committed to freedom in the abstract would admit. The problem revolves around the necessity both for discipline, taking the form of organization which tends toward dictatorship, and for individual spontaneity, which tends toward anarchy. Both discipline and individual spontaneity are necessary for real freedom. While the Stalinists are committed to rigid discipline, Mr. Vittorini's position [Roads of the Ex-Communists, *The Nation,* December 6], on the other hand, leads toward anarchy. Neither of these tendencies can result in peace and freedom.

There is unfortunately a general tendency for intellectuals in the West to underestimate the role of organization in providing them with the individual freedoms they prize so highly. They seem to think there are natural freedoms that are not a result, as they are, of a particular type of organization in an economy at a particular level of development.

Organization and individual spontaneity taken as absolutes are dialectical

Crossword Puzzle No. 504

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See 11 across.
4 The sort of officer that gets your goat? Its relative, rather, with good taste. (8)
10 and 19 down. Indicates the degree of shaking, with finesse. (10)
11 Evidently the result of applying a marinade looks good. (1, 6, 6)
12 This plant produces much with us.
13 See 28 across.
14 Move quickly? Just the opposite, because it's stable in part. (5)
15 and 31 With which the government has been concerned during seizure? (Uniform sizes are not guaranteed!) (3-2-3-4)
17 Eckstein might be disturbed by them (if too loud?). (8)
21 Don't kill the gag—Adam did. (8)
23 and 26 Berle's travels, appearing in the back pages, perhaps. (They'd better not over their lines!) (5, 5)
28 and 13 Pale, yet putting on weight—despite the implication of fast living. (6)
29 and 30 Calves aren't quite covered with them; organists are. (5, 7)
31 See 15 across.
32 Two famous men here named Washington second or third. (8)
33 The pen has an agreeable sound at first, but the result might be frothy.

DOWN

1 Salesmen who suggest a business cycle? (8)
2 Not derbies (brown) with which the old sailor used to go around. (7)
3 These might be folded down or wound up. (5)
5 How to make a profit once more. (5)
6 Yanks are not always so considered.
7 Remark not originally made by a caterer? (7)
8 A damaged plane—but not likely. Ephemerid, rather. (3, 3)
9 Making more speed about the beginning of the end. (8)
16 and 27 Provincially it sounds like a long distance around the neck perhaps. (3, 5)
18 Furniture, somewhat higher placed than the top of the bureau. (8)
19 See 10 across.
20 There might be dirty work here, so it's no place for boating! (8)
22 Examines by employment? (7)
24 Obscure uprising fades away, somewhat like 29 down. (No wonder they're worn.)
25 Ship at a place under fire, perhaps.
27 See 16 down.
28 Sweat might make it or eliminate it.
29 Not a first-class would-be sailor. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 503

ACROSS:—1 CAPRI; 4 TABULATOR; 9 UNPOPULAR; 10 NEARS; 11 PRINCIPIA; 12 BETEL; 13 SOUND WAVES; 17 UNILATERAL; 21 BLAKE; 22 OPERA HATS; 23 LARVA; 24 THEME SONG; 25 WINTERSET; 26 TREES.

DOWN:—1 CLUMPS; 2 POPLIN; 3 IMPACT; 4 TELEPHONE BOOTHS; 5 BARGAIN BASEMENT; 6 LONGBOWS; 7 TRACTIVE; 8 RESTLESS; 14 FURBELOW; 15 CIMARRON; 16 PALEFACE; 18 PATENT; 19 PAROLE; 20 USAGES.

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opposites. They are part of the process of growth in individual life and in the life of society. While the ideology of the West idealizes individual spontaneity, the ideology of the East idealizes collective action.

It is this factor that leads many in the West incorrectly to equate Hitlerism and Stalinism, a misconception I believe Mr. Vittorini has accepted. There is a qualitative difference between the regimes despite many similarities. The difference is the difference between John L. Lewis, one of our great trade-union leaders, and Joseph P. Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Association. Although both discourage democratic activity and require obedience to their decisions, John L. Lewis makes a serious effort to achieve a better life for the coal miners. Mr. Ryan's only interest is personal power and wealth.

It is my opinion that 100 years from now men will look at the Soviet Union and deplore the fact that socialist democracy began with forced labor camps and political purges, as we deplore the fact that capitalist democracy in America began with slave labor.

It is the job of humane men in the West to synthesize the democratic spirit and ideas of Jefferson with the scientific socialist ideas of Marx, which, as Mr. Vittorini says, are based on the great humanistic traditions of the West. The major responsibility for this accomplishment rests on the American labor movement and its leaders.

New York HAL KOPPERSMITH

Commendation

Dears Sirs: I can't help writing you to comment on the article you published in *The Nation* of January 24 entitled I Have a Thing to Tell You, by Ruth Elizabeth Crawford. I most certainly commend you very highly for your courage in printing this article.

I too think that Miss Crawford is entitled to a hearing. What is left of our democracy if, at the very least, we deny a "fair hearing" to those whose opinions may differ from ours?

Ralph, S. D. JOSEPH PINTAR

[*In order to publish more letters, we are announcing a new policy. In general letters must not be longer than 200 words and must indicate clearly that they are intended for publication. Occasionally, when they discuss matters of great general interest, longer letters will be run. We reserve the right to edit letters for length, but deletions will be indicated.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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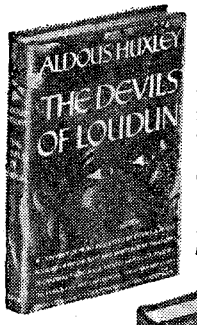

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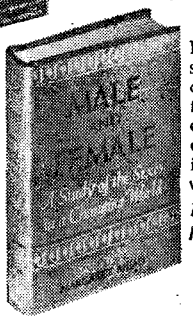

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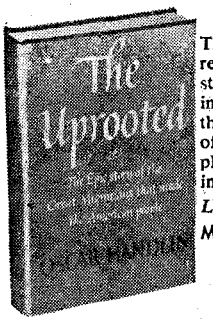

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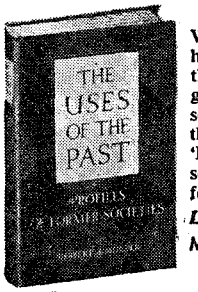

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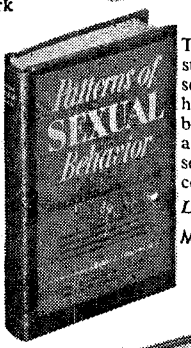

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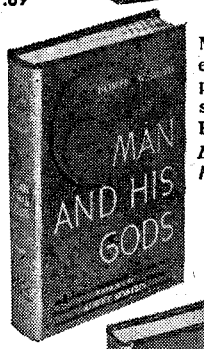

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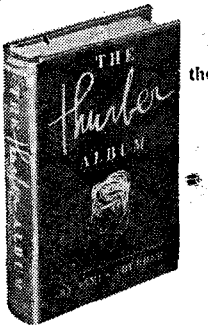

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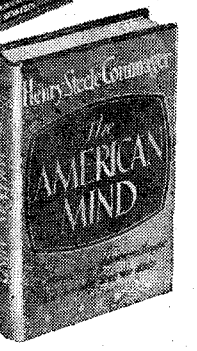

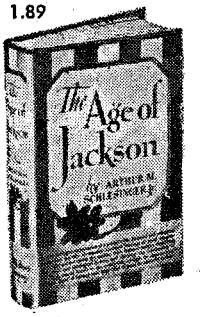

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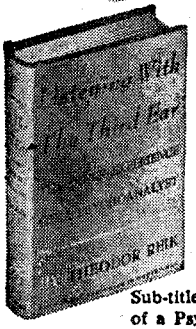

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